32. AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

CONDUCT

OF

G—l *Cope.*

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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CONDUCT OF G-----l *C-pe.*

THE *Honour* of a *State*, is founded in the due Attention to *Civil Magiſtracy*: The *Glory* of a *State*, in the happy Conduct of *Fleets* and *Armies*. In the firſt Caſe, well-timed Severity produces due Reverence to the Governing; but well-conſider'd Juſtice,

ſtrictly purſued, wanting neither Grace nor proper Severity, is what eſtabliſhes the Peace of a Kingdom, as it cheriſhes in Men's Minds, Unanimity and Concord, which are the Baſis of their Strength and Preſervation, and at once fixes Men good Subjects, good Friends, and good Soldiers. Here then we lay the Foundation of *Glory*, which we eſtabliſh on *Honour*, and as the Ground-work of all, a happy Civil Magiſtracy. If Wars ariſe, or Enemies invade our Country, diſturb our Tranquillity, or interfere in our Repoſe, *Unanimity* will make us all good Soldiers; as martial Diſcipline is at beſt but improving Unanimity into Skill, ſo Unanimity is the beſt Means of acquiring that Skill, and of uſing it with Readineſs and Dexterity. After this, to complete the Welfare of a State, there can only be wanted good Officers in their reſpective Departments, who are able by their Skill and Judgment to conduct well-laid Meaſures to their deſir'd Criſis.

How far all States generally are defective in the firſt Point, I ſhall not take upon

upon me to ſay; but as to the Second, when neither through the Courſe of a long Peace, Men can poſſibly be tried, nor can any Sovereign Power be infallible, it will therefore, at the firſt ſetting out of a War, be but mere Accident, whether the Perſon employ'd ſhall ſo act, as either becomes his Station, or is ſuited to the Glory of the State which employs him. A Man may be a good Soldier in Form, without either Genius to act with Splendor, or Courage and Conduct to command Succeſs.

A Handſome Appearance at Court, with an Air and Addreſs that ſpeaks much Submiſſion and Reſpect, are very good Schemes for Preferment: But the Man who ſo acquires it, ſeldom ſhines in that high Department to which his pretty Civility has raiſed him. A *Soldier* has ſomething elſe to think on, ſomething elſe to ſtudy; and where one is attended to, the other is generally unknown. A very ſuperior Genius may be Maſter of both, but as ſuch ſeldom appear, we muſt take Mankind as they moſt generally are, and

therefrom conclude, that to be a *Courtier* and a *Soldier* but rarely meet in the ſame Man.

Theſe previous Remarks are only introduced, to take off a few miſtaken Prejudices that Men are too commonly ſubject to, in being forward to reflect on thoſe who govern, when the Appearance of a Man, whoſe Heart they cannot know, inclines them to favour his Preferment; who unhappily proves not according to their Wiſhes, nor adds any Thing to that Weight of Glory, whereby the Dignity and Welfare of the State is preſerv'd and ſupported: And likewiſe to ſhow, that the ſame Skill and Judgment is not to be expected, in the firſt ſetting out of a War, as Time and Experience are capable of producing, and therefrom to draw this Concluſion, that Errors committed, and Repulſes met with, ſhould rather inſpirit us to act with double Ardor, than at all diſcourage us from being unanimous and determin'd to deſtroy our Enemies, ſince it only ſhews, that we want a little

Practice,

Practice, and when we have acquir'd that, can never fail of Succeſs.

I wiſh I could purſue the pleaſing Thought through the Courſe of theſe Remarks: But I am ſet down to do Juſtice to my Country; and altho' I could willingly have wav'd the diſagreeable Taſk of reflecting on the Conduct of another, at any Time when my Country is not in Danger; yet, as Matters are circumſtanc'd, I can neither excuſe myſelf, either as an *Engliſhman* or a Soldier. The Pain of juſtly puniſhing one, or many, by tranſmitting him or them with Infamy to Poſterity, is not to be ſet in Competition with the Hazard of the Loſs of the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of Millions, added to the Diſhonour of our Country, and every growing Evil.

Men of a ſimple Turn of Mind, ſee Profeſſions like Sciences, in a pure mechanic Light; they dive not into the myſterious or extended Branches; are mere Schoolmaſters, that attend to Words, rather than to Things: They teach Boys

Latin as Parrots are taught to prate; and value themſelves highly on being able to put the twenty-four Letters properly together in a foreign Dialect. The Mechanic Soldier is juſt the ſame Kind of Creature: He has been accuſtom'd to certain Forms, which on ſome Occaſions, or with Enemies who act by the ſame mechanic Rules, and with equal Caution, want not a certain Degree of Excellence. But the great Excellence of a Soldier lies in quite another Sphere: His Buſineſs is to form a true Judgment of the Enemy, and direct the Motions and Diſpoſitions of his Troops accordingly; his Adjutant, without ten Grains of common Senſe, can do all the reſt by the uſual mechanic Rule. *Cæſar* fought the *Gauls* one Way, the *Romans* another; and *Xenophon* made a wide Difference in forming his Troops againſt the *Perſians*, and when oppos'd to *Greeks*. All wiſe Generals have ever done the ſame Thing: They never conſidered the Formation of an Army by any abſolute ſett Rule, but as Incidents, and the different Kind of People they had to fight with, directed.

Rude

Rude Troops breaking in upon an Army by Violence, is much the ſame, as a mad unexperienced Fellow running Headlong on a fine Fencer; he parries here, retreats there, plays with his Adverſary till he has ſpent his Spirits, and then diſarms or diſpatches him. To ſuffer Troops to be broke by a ſudden Shock, is a fatal Error in the Military Science; a fine Fencer in War, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, will rather give Way to the firſt Shock of rude reſolv'd Troops, than ſuffer a ſingle Man to be diſorder'd. If at *Dettinghen* the Body of Foot, on whom the black Muſqueteers of *France* bore down with Impetuoſity, had not opened to let them paſs, they might have been defeated at the firſt Onſet; but by their good Conduct, in opening to them a ſeeming free Paſſage, the Attack took a very different Turn.

In the late Battle of *Fontenoy*, the Bravery of our Troops became in ſome Meaſure uſeleſs, by the Manner of the *French* Planting their Batteries, and taking Care rather to have them well-guarded, than the

the Bodies of Men ſupported, who were to oppoſe the firſt Fury of the *Britiſh* Troops, as well knowing that were they oblig'd to retreat, the others could not follow; but if they loſt their Cannon, the main Point would have been carried, and conſequently their Army defeated.

Thoſe two Inſtances are ſufficient to ſhow two material Errors in G------l *C*---'s Conduct; but there is a third, of which Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſpeaks, and which the late Duke of *Argyle* had, if I am rightly inform'd, conſider'd thoroughly; which is the attacking, rather than ſuffering to be attack'd, whereby the Force, Vigour, and Courage of the Aſſailant is doubled: By this Conduct the Highlanders, in the late Rebellion, were beat by one of our Wings, and diſperſed, while, on the contrary, the other was beat by the Highlanders on the ſame Principle. The Duke of *Marlborough* gain'd all his Victories by the like Conduct, and *Cromwel* always eſteem'd it eſſential to Victory.

Thus

Thus far, I hope, my general Reflections are well authoriz'd, and ſuited to the Point in View; which naturally leads us into the Scene of Action, hitherto eſteem'd incomprehenſible.

The Reader is now deſir'd to caſt his Eye on the Plan of the Battle publiſh'd by *George Hawkins*, at *Milton*'s Head in *Fleetſtreet*, and to conſider the Accounts publiſh'd in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, and in the *London Courant*. This I mention, that it may not be preſum'd I am forming the Oeconomy of the Battle out of my own Head.

The Situation of our Cannon on the Right, guarded only by an hundred Men, is a Circumſtance that firſt ſtrikes me; and the ſuffering the main Body of the Enemy to bend their Force thither, and that Guard no Way ſupported, is truly Matter of Aſtoniſhment. But it is no Kind of Wonder, that thoſe Men deſerted the Cannon on the firſt Attack; it would have ſhock'd the moſt experienc'd Vete-

rans to have ſeen themſelves ſo expos'd to the Attack of 1000 Men, and could preſume nothing leſs than Treachery. The next Attack naturally fell upon the Dragoons of the Right, who ſeeing the Cannon ſo idly loſt, and turn'd upon themſelves, naturally enough quitted the Field of Battle. This leaves the Right Wing open and expos'd, to the Violence of the next Attack; who ſeeing the Cannon loſt, and the Dragoons who cover'd them gone, fir'd in Confuſion, and then threw down their Arms; what was done on the other Wing, ſeems not very material; it was the Buſineſs of the Highland Officers ſo to behave, as to prevent our Troops on the Left from ſupporting thoſe of the Right, who being at once both in Confuſion and flank'd, naturally bore in upon the main Body; and the Left Wing being drove in at the ſame Time upon the Centre, and altogether driven tumultuouſly on the *Corps de Reſerve*, I think this infamous Affair is very eaſily accounted for, without any Prejudice either to the Courage of the inferior Officers or common Soldiers.

In this Diſpoſition, the Rebels were really ten Men to their one; and therefore, under all theſe Circumſtances, the endeavouring to rally the Troops became quite uſeleſs; the Buſineſs was effectually done, and a Man need but form to himſelf a clear Idea of theſe concurrent Circumſtances, and plainly ſee that all human Aid was vain.

If the Reader will pleaſe to retreat to the Plan again, and remove the Cannon and the Guard that attended it, to the Centre of the Body of Reſerve, and fancy to himſelf, at the ſame time, the main Body of the Rebels coming furiouſly down on the Front of our Army, which he muſt ſuppoſe opening to the Right and Left from the Centre, leaving a void Space, open to the Body of Reſerve, and making together three Sides of a Quadrangle, and the Rebels ruſhing furiouſly in, he will form to himſelf a very natural and obvious Idea of what muſt have been their Fate.

I do not care to perplex the Reader with the Variety of Evolutions and Diſpoſitions

an Army is capable of forming into on different Emergencies; it is ſufficient to ſhew one that is clear and intelligible, which may give ſufficient Light to a judicious Mind, and put him on contriving many more. In the whole, there is nothing more clear than the Wrongneſs of the Diſpoſition: For in the firſt Place, Cannon ſhould be always ſo ſtation'd, as not to be eaſily carried by an Enemy; if it muſt be ſo ſituate as not eaſily to be reinforc'd with an additional Guard, if requir'd, it ſhould either have a very ſtrong Guard, or be rais'd within deep Entrenchments, or both, otherwiſe it had better remain in the Rear of the Front Lines, to be drawn up and us'd occaſionally. Where there is but few Cannon between both Armies, it is of the laſt Conſepuence, that if it can't be plac'd to do good, it may, at leaſt, do no Harm; it had better be any where than in the Hands of the Enemy; this, I believe, is clear to the meaneſt Apprehenſion: But how it can be conceiv'd that an hundred Men was a proper Guard, without Entrenchment or Reinforcement, is not quite ſo eaſy.

The

The general Notion of their being ſurpriz'd is quite ridiculous, ſince it is agreed on all Hands, they had the whole Night and Part of the Day before, to put themſelves into what Order they pleas'd; and why it was put to the Hazard of ſuffering the Cannon to be detach'd from the main Body during the Night, ſeems perfect Infatuation, and is ſuch Kind of Generalſhip, as not to be met with in Hiſtory.

I remember its being ſaid by a *French* Officer, after their Army being beat by the Duke of *Marlborough* in the late War, and himſelf taken Priſoner, Change Generals with us, and we'll fight you over again: By which he ſeem'd to intimate, that neither the Officers nor Soldiers wanted Courage, but that both wanted a General.

It is moſt certainly true, that the Commander in Chief is the main Spring of Action; as that is dull or active, the whole Machine moves accordingly: There are Abundance of ill-natur'd Circumſtances con-

concerning this Action, ſome of them not well authoris'd, and the reſt inſignificant. I ſhall name one of the laſt Claſs, which is, that, from a Motive I don't chuſe to mention, no Orders were given to fire till the Rebels were cloſe upon our Troops; but if I have a right Idea of the Battle, and the Time, they could not be ſeen far, and that the main Body of the Rebels had ſurpriz'd the Cannon, before our Main Body knew any Thing of the Matter, elſe it is natural to believe, ſome Part would have mov'd to its Defence; but as that was not the Caſe, I preſume they knew nothing of the Matter until it was too late, or what is as bad, that the General had form'd the Army, in ſuch a certain Manner, as that the Diſpoſition was not to be alter'd, let the Circumſtances vary as they might; if ſo, it was a Piece of Pedantry very unbecoming a Commander in Chief, and upon a Plan quite new and uncommon. However, it may be ſo, ſince it is very natural to ordinary Underſtandings to be capable of looking but one Way at a Time, and that not always the beſt.

The

The fighting of *Engliſhmen* in the Dark, is, in general, a very wrong Step; it is bad in an Attack; but in ſuffering themſelves to be attack'd, much worſe; more eſpecially, without being ſo prepar'd by Diſpoſition and Retrenchments, as might render it morally impoſſible for the Enemy to ſucceed. Every Man of Common Senſe, tho' an abſolute Stranger to the Art of War, yet if he expected an Enemy to attack his Houſe in the Night, would not draw out his Men, and ſet them in a formal Line, but would place them in ſuch Diſpoſition as might guard it in every Quarter, and yet ſo as that they might inſtantly be together in a Body, if neceſſary: He would not ſay, if he had Cannon, place them here or there, abſolutely, let the Enemy come which Way they will, but would ſo diſpoſe them, as that they might be commanded at any Place in an Inſtant. This, I ſay, would be the Caſe of common Underſtanding, but a General ſhould know much more; he ſhould not only know how to provide againſt an Enemy, but by infinite Slight, Artifice, and Con-

trivance, know how to draw an Enemy into almoſt any Snare he could lay for him; the common Courſe of Things is but the Buſineſs of ordinary Minds, and mere fighting the Genius of a common Soldier; a General's Parts and Education, his Wit and Capacity ſhould as far ſurpaſs their Underſtandings, as his Poſt does in Dignity; without this they differ only in the Work of Fortune, not of Merit; and a General is but a common Soldier, with an important Commiſſion in his Pocket. In the whole, all Ages and Times have evinced, that to be a mere mechanic Soldier, is much the leaſt Part of a General. But as every Man is willing to riſe if he can, ſo if a Man be rais'd to a Dignity ſuperior to his Capacity, and happens to fail in no Part but that; that is to ſay, is neither a Coward nor a Traitor; in ſuch a Caſe, thoſe who raiſed him, ſhould be tender in their Puniſhments, becauſe it was as much their Miſtake as his Misfortune. From whence the Reader is to draw this Concluſion, That my Aim is not at the Man, but the General; and as his Conduct ſtands the Teſt of a more narrow Enquiry, ſo muſt

muſt my Remarks be approv'd or condemn'd.

I have been all my Life-time extremely concern'd to ſee by what an odd Road Men travel to Preferment; that making one's ſelf uſeful or agreeable to Men in Power, in Matters noways relative to the Means of our Riſing, as ſinging a Song, making a Pun, dreſſing well, *&c. &c.* ſhould give a Man a Title to be an Admiral, a Biſhop, or a General. One does not know how to connect theſe Things together; yet there are amongſt Men, and thoſe not very ſtrong metaphyſical Reaſoners, who can give a very pretty Account of this Matter; they ſay, get a Patron who can ſerve you, and be ſure to pleaſe him, inſtead of attending to your Improvement, and you'll be in the beſt Road to Preferment. And however this may ſeem to be only ſaying a Thing is ſo, becauſe it is ſo, I'll defy a Man that has ſtudied all his Lifetime to find out a better.

There are indeed ſome who are ſo much in the Favour of the other Sex, as not

only to acquire Preferment thereby, but even that dream for them, which ſeems to have been the Caſe of a Lady lately at *Edinburgh*, who at once both dream'd and rhim'd about our G-----l. I don't chuſe to repeat more than one Line of this poetic Dream, becauſe it is ſomething like executing of a Man before his Time.--- The Line is,---

And the Ribbon ſhall be chang'd to Rope.

'Tis poſſible a Circumſtance like this, if it happens to prove true, may bring the Scriptures again into ſome Repute, if only for the Sake of the Dreams therein inſerted, and that may poſſibly be the Means of our bearing a higher Affection and Regard for our Country (which ſeems at preſent partly loſt, through Ignorance, Infatuation and Negligence) as we find the *Jews* did, and were ſo long happy. But we don't find either in that, or any other Hiſtory, that thoſe who gave themſelves up to Careleſsneſs and Folly were ever long a Nation.

As

As the Genius and Virtue of a People decay, thoſe of the higher Rank degenerate in a duplicate Proportion, and as from theſe, either in Perſon or by their Favourites, the whole Machine is uſually work'd, ſo muſt all its Operations be.

Rebellion is eſteem'd by all the worſt Kind of War, as it contributes to depopulate a Country, and eſtabliſhes an Hereditary Hatred amongſt thoſe who ſurvive the common Calamity. On the other hand, if it muſt happen at all, it is better before we are too much loſt in Luxury and Forgetfulneſs; and to balance, in ſome meaſure, the Miſchief it is capable of producing, it may contribute to make us ourſelves again, to reliſh the Sweets of Liberty, and calm Repoſe, under a Sovereign we ought to eſteem, and conſequently bring at once before us, all the Horrors of arbitrary Power, Tyranny, and Miſery, and what may perhaps be of equal Importance to our future Welfare, diſtinguiſh our Friends from our Enemies, and teach ſome of our great Men to know, that if

for

for the future they would be well defended, they ſhould only intereſt themſelves with the Sovereign for the Preferment of ſuch Men, who rather attend to their Profeſſions, and ſhine there, than at Courts and Levees; always concluding, that he who neglects his Buſineſs, to wait on Nods and Smiles, is fitter to be Pimp to a Bawdy-Houſe, than to command Fleets and Armies.

FINIS.